



SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY

WILL GOVERNMENT ACT AGAINST SABATA?



Tanganyika President

DR. JULIUS NYERERE was elected President of Tanganyika in elections held on 9th November; he will take office on 9th December, a year after his country's independence, when a republic will be declared.

Tanganyika is becoming a republic for two main reasons: it has never been a British colony, and its becoming a monarchy on achieving independence within the Commonwealth after half a century as a British-administered Trust Territory, was an anomaly; and it is felt that a republican form of government, with a "strong" President ruling with an executive council and the support of parliament, is more suitable for present conditions in Tanganyika.

Dr. Nyerere became Tanganyika's first Prime Minister with independence on 9th December last year, but resigned from office six weeks later to devote his attention to rebuilding the Party he founded and which led Tanganyika to freedom, the Tanganyika African National Union. TANU had suffered by losing its top officials to the government and civil service after independence.

Nyerere has achieved this, has improved the spirit of his people, and beaten his election opponent; he is ready to take office and lead Tanganyika in the battle of the whole underdeveloped world, against poverty, ignorance and disease.

contact

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Contact is independent. It works for non-racial democracy based on adult suffrage. It is against all forms of totalitarianism such as fascism, communism and apartheid.

COMMENT

VORSTER TRIES TO MAKE A "CASE"

ONE of the most perplexing mental exercises in South Africa today is to decide just what Minister of Justice Balthazar Johannes Vorster and his cabinet colleagues mean when they talk about "liberalism" or "liberalists". In two sessions last week over the Nationalist Party's favourite propaganda machine, the South African Broadcasting Corporation, we heard, among other weird definitions and vague disclosures, that Mr. Vorster did not regard a man as communist because he was a liberal. But all communists were liberals in the sense of the word in South Africa. That was why the liberalistic organizations could, wittingly or unwittingly, so easily be the front for communist activities. Experience, he said, had taught him to couple liberalism with communism.

By this explanation, Mr. Vorster's "liberal" can mean only one thing. In South Africa and the world, liberals and communists, President Kennedy, Mr. Khrushchev, and the leader of every member state of the United Nations, with the exception of South Africa and Portugal, have at least one attitude on which all agree — they hold racialism in contempt and they dislike and despise those who practise it.

Because of its White racialistic government, South Africa has earned the enmity of the world, and three-quarters of its own citizens find themselves applauding attacks made on their country. This is not surprising. It is impossible for a man deprived of all rights and privileges to feel any real loyalty to a state which so deprives him. He is conscious only that he is oppressed, poor and miserable and that his unhappiness and the indignities he

suffers are due, not to any fault of his own, but simply because he happened to be born with a skin of the wrong colour. To most South Africans the government of their country is an alien institution foisted on them by a minority and run for the benefit of the few: it is something remote and unpleasant seen only in the shape of a policeman or an official in a pass office.

"Fundamentally," commented the *Cape Times* last week, "it is the bland refusal of our government to acknowledge in any real way that the non-White South Africans belong to 20th-century Africa that is stirring passions to breaking point."

This, and its consequence, is realized by every movement opposed to racialism and prepared to struggle against it. Despite his rantings for the consumption of the more gullible public, Mr. Vorster knows as well as his political police that communists form only a small part of the radical opposition to his government, and even their complete elimination may do little more than slightly prolong the inevitable demise of all that it stands for. They do not control this opposition which is motivated by forces stronger than any one political ideology.

Behind the radical opponents of apartheid is the burning resentment of White domination felt by non-White South Africans and shared by numbers of their White fellow citizens. For some, communism may provide a vehicle in the struggle, but many find their aspirations more clearly voiced in the call of Pan-Africanism, or in Mr. Vorster's newly-found menace of non-racial liberalism. And here, perhaps, we may find the reasoning behind recent Nationalist

propaganda.

Standing as it does for the basic rights of man and the substance of what is called Western Civilization against the narrow, inflexible doctrines of the Nationalist Party, liberalism has long been anathema to the followers of Dr. Verwoerd and Mr. Vorster. But their fear and their hatred of liberalism is not understood outside the ranks of the faithful or in the western world which they seek so desperately to impress. It has thus become necessary to link liberals with something considered more sinister, and so the propaganda machine has been put to work to create a new image — the liberal allowing himself to be used by the communist, making situations favourable to communism, and preparing the way for the red take-over in South Africa. For week after week this nonsense has gone on and will no doubt continue until Mr. Vorster feels he has made enough of a "case" to suppress the more outspoken liberals. But he might find this more difficult than he expects. Despite the pitiful timidity of so many South Africans in the face of Nationalist tyranny, liberalism still has strong roots in this country. There are thousands who admire and support the stand taken by the more active and militant liberals who are likely to prove just as tough and resourceful under pressure as others who have felt the jackboot of the neo-nazis of South Africa and have carried on the fight.

THANK YOU, SIR JOHN

IT is so seldom that governments in southern Africa act to uphold and maintain human freedom and dignity that when they do, it comes almost as a shock. Too often is there collusion and conspiracy to maintain the rule of White supremacy between all the territories which make up White dominated southern Africa, and too seldom is that collusion frustrated.

During last week the Federal authorities placed three young South West Africans (on their way without passports to Dar es Salaam to take up scholarships offered them by the United States government) in handcuffs and chains, guarded by two policemen, on a train back to South Africa. There they would have been charged with leaving the country illegally (in Southern Rhodesia they were jailed for entering the country illegally) and possibly sent to prison, their hopes of higher education dashed.

But the train on which the three youths were unwilling passengers passes through Bechuanaland Protectorate to get from Bulawayo to Mafeking, and a short distance from the South African frontier, at 3 o'clock in the morning, it was boarded by Bechuanaland police who ordered the prisoners to be released from their chains and set at liberty. They had committed no crime in Bechuanaland, and the Protectorate government, with the authority of the High Commissioner, Sir John Maud, set them free, at the same time offering them asylum.

We say to those who effected this release, Thank you, for showing us what should be done and what can be done, that justice can triumph over persecution, that the forces of darkness we have grown so used to, are not invincible!



"THE GLOVES ARE OFF" — VORSTER

Sok

ACTION AGAINST SABATA?

WILL GOVERNMENT MOVE TO AVERT TEMBU CRISIS?

● There is speculation and concern in the Tembuland that the government is planning action against Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo. If it did so an ugly situation would be created, as our correspondent reports.

From "Contact" Correspondent

UMTATA: The initiative in any attempt to avert a serious crisis in Tembuland now rests with the government. Such a crisis could bring disaster to the Transkei Bantustan plans. The Tembus themselves are in a state of deep concern, the old rift between the government and Matanzima supporting chiefs, and the Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo has now deepened right through the Tembu people themselves. Fearing to get involved in the dispute many Tembus have kept up an appearance of neutrality. Resistance to Bantu authorities and latterly to the government's Xhosa-trick has been carried out

largely by militant groups for the most part in the Engcobo district.

But the government by crudely forcing the Paramount Chief to accept their own creation, the Dalindyebo Regional Authority, as his advisers, in defiance of ancient and dearly held Tembu custom, has involved the bulk of neutrals in the pro- and anti-apartheid struggle. These neutrals will not side with Matanzima's supporters.

The government can avert the crisis by

- repairing its breach of custom and abandoning its attempts to foist the Regional Authority on the Paramount Chief and people
- allowing the calling of a tribal meeting at which the Regional Authority members and the elected constitutional committee members and the Tembus and Paramount Chief can thrash out the whole issue and go away with a fresh mandate from the Tembus.

Action Against Sabata

It is unlikely that it will do either of these things. Mr. C. B. Young,

Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development, said in Umtata on 2nd November, according to Chief Zwelihle Mtirara who quoted him in a protesting press statement, "there was no need to call the Tembu people to a meeting because representatives of the Tembus in the Regional Authority have acted for the people and rejected the constitutional proposals made by the elected committee". B.A.D. Minister De Wet Nel said in Durban on 6th November, "The majority of Tembus are willing to co-operate with us. It is only Chief Sabata and a few of his friends who are being unco-operative." This latter statement has caused great ill-feeling among Tembus.

This new public attitude to the Paramount Chief added to his recent conflict with both the Chief Magistrate, Mr. Leibbrandt, and Mr. C. B. Young makes many Tembus nervous of some form of government action against Chief Sabata.

There is no question but that such action could precipitate an ugly situation in Tembuland and beyond.

The further decision that rests with the government concerns the calling of

the promised extra 1962 Transkeian Territorial Authority session to review the final constitutional draft that will go to parliament in its next session. If the government calls this session without the Regional Authority move was intended to do, there is no hope of making the emergence of a Transkei Bantustan acceptable to the Tembus. If it calls the session before the commission of enquiry regarding Whites in the Transkeian Territories reports, it will be in danger of having to accept changes in the self government plans in the next parliamentary session, thus ruining the pretence that the T.T.A.'s approval of the constitution is any real concern of the government.

"Back Seat"

Meanwhile the question of Tembu constitutional proposals takes a back seat. The committee elected by the

(Continued on page 5 column 1)

Personal Files

IT was not Mhlobo, father of Chief I. Kaizer Matanzima, who was sent to Emigrant Tembuland to look after Dalindyebo's subjects there, as was stated in *Contact's* profile of Chief Sabata, the present Paramount Chief of the Tembu (18th October).

What actually happened was that in 1864, Matanzima, heir to the right-hand house of Mtirara (great-grandfather of both Chiefs Sabata and Kaizer) went with his followers to Emigrant Tembuland, clear of Sarhili's people after the Cattle Killing of 1858, as did other minor chiefs of the royal house.

Dalindyebo would have been most unlikely to send Mhlobo for any administrative work, as he was *iQaba*, a red-blanketed man, and quite illiterate. Chief Kaizer gained his education through the influence of Chief Pharaoh Mgudlwa, to whom was entrusted the educational interests of the Tembu in those years.

THE SWAZILAND POLITICAL scene is confused and the role of the protagonists seems to vary. Dr. Zwane's tour of African and European capitals (including Moscow, where, as a Catholic, he must have felt uncomfortable) was undertaken in company with Mr. Dumisa Dlamini. Both appear to have come back with a harder, more Accra-sounding line. Mr. Nquku, the other leader of the divided Swaziland Progressive Party is in the United Nations pleading for Swaziland. His flight to New York may restore his position, which has suffered by his failure to create a united front in preparation for Swaziland's constitutional talks. Dr. George Msibi, trained in India, is difficult to place politically, while Mr. Simon Nxumalo, leader of the Swaziland Democratic Party, appears to be a true non-racialist. Feeling between the S.D.P. and S.P.P. runs high. Dr. Zwane

has attacked the S.D.P. as a danger to Swazi freedom. The S.D.P. newsletter, *Sibani*, refers to Dr. Zwane and his friends as the "Ghana-boys" and impugns their avowed non-racialism.

PATRICK VAN RENSBURG is to open a non-racial primary school at Serowe, Bechuanaland, in January 1963. He and his wife, who is a B.A. of Leeds University, have been on the staff of the local Bamangwato school since July. They teach in the mornings and in the afternoon Patrick van Rensburg works on the magnificent site that has been granted to the school — chopping down trees, building hundreds of yards of low stone walls to stop erosion, filling dongas, and digging foundations for the buildings that are to go up shortly. In the evenings he and his wife tackle administrative work. The size of the school will depend on the money available. More is needed — cheques to Box 102, Serowe, B.P.

IN AUGUST four White students from Natal University came to the Transkei as guests of the Umtata Rotary Club, on a visit arranged by Mr. V. M. P. Leibbrandt, Chief Magistrate of the Transkei. The event was a threefold disappointment to democrats. First, that students should be so blind and reactionary as to praise the "complete sincerity" of government policy which is rapidly preparing for a self-governing Transkei (press report). Secondly, that Rotary should allow itself to be used for government Bantustan propaganda, and thirdly that Mr. Leibbrandt, a member of the Umtata Rotary Club should use his membership of Rotary to further his assignment as Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner of the Transkei, which is to deliver the Transkei over to a fake self-government.

The truth is not so gloomy: My correspondent at Natal University tells me that the students were in point of fact invited by the Umtata Rotary to visit Umtata, address the Club on subjects freely chosen (two were "World Population" and "Academic Integration") and visit places of scenic and other interest. The talks were not

reported — nor was the substance of the students' comments. For, though impressed with the agricultural development and the sincerity of the local administrators, they also expressed their conviction that such benefits should be provided by any government, and that in any case they were no solution to the real problems of the country, in particular where these applied to urban Africans.

Another point they made which SAPA somehow overlooked was that the rate of progress was too slow and capital expenditure too small to meet the demands of the Transkei plan. They also noted with interest that Matanzima had a very large bodyguard and that Abraham's "driver's" house as well as his own seemed to bear evidence of considerable and unnecessary expenditure while the more urgent work needed capital urgently.

The young men describe themselves as "conservatives". It appears that theirs, and Rotary's intentions, were misused for ideological reasons.

PROFESSOR EDWARD ROUX'S appointment to the chair of Botany at the University of the Witwatersrand is long overdue, but nevertheless greatly to be welcomed. Eddie Roux is a scientist of whom South Africa can be proud. He is also a South African of whom the world can be proud. His record as a fighter for freedom in South Africa is second to none. An early communist, he resigned from the C.P. in 1936 and followed another convert to liberalism, the late Jock Isacowitz, into the Liberal Party in its early years. On the Transvaal provincial committee and national congresses, he has greatly assisted the Party with his long political experience in the thick of the extra-parliamentary struggle. He himself wrote the life of S. B. Bunting, as well as the classic account of the South African freedom struggle, *Time Longer than Rope*. It is time someone wrote down a full account of Eddie Roux's own political life, which he modestly plays down in his own writings.

By Jacob Bam

GIVE AND TAKE

The New African

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SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Strong Opposition Despite ZAPU Ban

From "Contact" Correspondent

SALISBURY: Violence, arson and sabotage continue in Southern Rhodesia despite the banning of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, and the placing of 250 of its former leaders under restriction in rural areas.

Meanwhile the government is going ahead with its plans to hold a general election on 14th December, the first election under the 1961 constitution. Africans continue to resist this constitution, which allows the African majority in the country (about three million Africans, about three hundred thousand Whites) only 15 seats out of 65 in parliament.

The secret Zimbabwe Liberation Army has announced that it is going to launch its "Master Plan No. 2". It has threatened to "crush" the settlers, concentrating its activities in the White areas until the Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead, comes to terms with African nationalist leaders.

The President of the newly-formed nationalist Party, the Zimbabwe African Pioneers' Union (ZAPU), Mr. M. E. Nyawhata, has said:

"We will definitely organize massive

resistance to this unwanted document if Britain and Whitehead do not move in time. We demand the unconditional release of all political restrictees who include Mr. Joshua Nkomo, Mr. James Chikerema and Mr. George Nyandoro."

Sir Edgar Whitehead had hoped to enrol 80,000 African voters in his Build-a-Nation campaign, but to date only 10,000 have registered. This has shown the general opposition to the constitution.

A new but insignificant Party called

the People's Independence Democratic Union has sprung up to announce that it intends to fight the election. The Party President, Mr. John Rice, argues that the United Federal Party, the governing Party, should not be allowed to push into parliament its own stooges.

Of all the new African political parties formed, none has been able to attract the massive following of the banned ZAPU.



On the eve of the Northern Rhodesia general election Mr. Kaunda leaves Matero Suburb, Lusaka, to address the last of his pre-election rallies. He is shown standing in the kombi and waving. The two-mile long procession was followed by a gathering of 15,000. (See story below)

NORTHERN RHODESIA

ELECTION RESULTS...

From "Contact" Correspondent

LUSAKA: The final result of the general election came as no surprise to the people of Northern Rhodesia, for long before the Parties decided to participate in the election, the African nationalists called the constitution under which it was held "racialistic". The African nationalists saw in the new constitution no solution to the present racial strife and therefore they felt it would be unworkable. They wanted

nothing short of a constitution that would give the Africans a clear majority in the Legislature and the Executive Council.

The final state of Parties in the election is: the United Federal Party 15 seats (13 upper roll and 2 national seats), the United National Independence Party 14 (12 lower roll and one upper roll and one special Asian seat) and the African National Congress 5 (three lower roll seats and two national

seats).

Five two-member national seats were frustrated and by-elections will be held for them on 10th December, when there will also be a by-election in the 15th upper roll seat—Livingstone—where a UNIP candidate died during the election campaign.

No Party has emerged with enough seats in the Legislative Council to form a government. The constitution has failed to bring stability or racial harmony to the country.

ELECTION LESSONS...

From TITUS MUKUPO

LUSAKA: Hardly two days had passed after all the results in the general elections were known than a cable came hot from London to the United National Independence Party headquarters here. The cable supported Mr. Kenneth Kaunda's intention to form a coalition government with the African National Congress. It also suggested that if that offer to join a coalition was turned down by the A.N.C., then UNIP should "immediately wage a militant operation using all tactics" to break Federation and to get rid of the new constitution.

The cable came from Munu Sipalo, UNIP's former National Secretary and now the Party's London representative. It was just one of the many reactions to the results of the general election.

An African secondary school in Lusaka will have to close a week early because school authorities do not want the boys to be in school when results of the by-elections on 10th December are known. The results of the general election caused much more restlessness at the school than authorities will openly admit.

The most striking of the implications of the general election is that instead of drawing the races together, as had been anticipated by its British designers, the constitution pushed them far into

their own racial blocks thus causing the sudden death of the middle-of-the-road Liberal Party, anti-Federation but with a qualified franchise policy (unlike the South African Liberal Party which believes in one man one vote).

The Liberal Party was led by Sir John Moffat, a descendant of the missionary Moffat family of Kuruman and a great-grandson of David Livingstone. Three Moffat brothers, including Sir John, all respectable retired civil servants in the territory, stood in the elections for the Liberal Party, which has since disbanded.

In order to help entrench the "partnership" policy the constitution had specially provided for an exotic system of cross-voting to ensure that at least one-third of the elected members of the Legislative Council would be people who enjoyed at least one-tenth support from both White and Black.

Hence, of the 45 elected members, 15 were to be elected by predominantly African voters on the lower roll, another 15 by the predominantly White upper roll and the remaining 15 by both White and Black voters voting together. The latter were those in which candidates had to get at least one-tenth minimum support from voters of both races. These were called national seats.

When the constitution was first announced, Sir John Moffat acclaimed

the device and said that the national seats specially suited the Liberals. His optimism was obvious.

But to his great shock, Sir John found that Liberals commanded only a tiny proportion of both Black and White votes. Accordingly, in his final press statement, Mr. Gerald Percy, Secretary of the Liberal Party, wrote the Party's epitaph when he said: "The Liberal Party has been rejected by voters of all races..."

But the shock to the Liberals caused by Whites voting solidly for the pro-Federation U.F.P. has equally stunned leaders and members of UNIP. Many candidates claim that they were promised much more White support than they got.

At a glance the results show that out of every thousand lower roll (predominantly African) voters in the territory 782 voted for UNIP; 213 voted A.N.C.; one voted Liberal; two for the U.F.P. and two for the Barotse National Party. The total of registered voters on the lower roll is 92,230. The total electorate is 129,000.

On the other hand, of every one thousand upper roll (predominantly White) voters, 700 voted for U.F.P.; 148 for UNIP; 61 for independents; 34 for the A.N.C.; 50 for Liberals and two for the extreme right wing Rhodesia Republican Party.

WITHOUT COMMENT

WE print without comment this correspondence between the Liberal Party and the South African Broadcasting Corporation.

31st October 1962.

The Director-General, S.A.B.C.

Dear Sir,

We have been requested by Dr. Alan Paton, National President of the Liberal Party of South Africa, to ask you if he can be given an early opportunity to make an address over Radio South Africa on Liberalism.

This letter is written to you as a matter of grave urgency in view of the comments made on this subject during this week by speakers broadcasting on the 6.45 programme.

As you are aware the Liberal Party of South Africa is a lawful political organization and it is our view that since it is directly involved in what has been said about Liberalism, its representative should be given the opportunity of stating its case through the same channel of communication as has been used for the comments to which we refer.

May we have your very early reply?

Yours faithfully,

(signed) Jack Unterhalter, National Vice-President, Liberal Party.

1st November, 1962.

The National Vice-President, Liberal Party of South Africa.

Dear Sir,

Thank you for your letter of October 31st, 1962.

No recognized political party in South Africa is involved in the series of talks to which you refer. The talks are not being broadcast by or on behalf of any political party. As indicated in a statement by our Board of Governors on October the 23rd, their purpose is to meet listeners' requirements for correct and authoritative information about all vital matters of public interest, against the background of attempts at sabotage aimed at the destruction of South Africa's Christian and democratic way of life.

Your request must therefore be declined.

Yours faithfully,

(signed) C. D. Fuchs, Director of Programmes.

Addresses Wanted

Will the following readers please send us their full addresses:

Miss M. B. Somkwitshi of Pondoland.
Mr. Duncan Mahlangu of Springs.
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Five Years for Mandela

"HE KNEW HE HAD TO DO IT"

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: Magistrate W. A. van Helsdigen sentenced Mr. Nelson Mandela to five years imprisonment on 7th November. Three years were for incitement and two years for leaving the country without a permit. Mr. Van Helsdigen began his judgement by saying that this was the most difficult task in the whole of his experience.

He ended by saying that he was satisfied that Mandela had acted in an unlawful and undemocratic manner and that he had been the "master-mind" behind the attempts to "overthrow the government" by calling for a stay-at-home in May last year.

The court was not as full as usual. The non-White gallery had been opened for Whites although a quick glance showed that all the White spectators could comfortably, and with space to spare, have fitted into the normal White gallery. It was obvious that officials

were trying to prevent too many people crowding the court.

When the singing supporters from the court brought the news of the sentence to those outside there were some tense moments. The crowd joined together in singing and swaying along the pavement, and groups of police ran back and forth as the high pitched cries of the women broke out at one point only to die down and break out afresh somewhere else.

Mandela's Statement

During his statement, before sentence was passed, Mandela emphasized the oppression of the non-Whites. He spoke for more than an hour to an attentive audience and answered many questions which, he said, "the court might ask".

He also told of his journey outside South Africa. He said that he had not applied for a passport because, on the past evidence of the refusal of passports to many Africans, both politicians and others, he felt that he would have been

wasting his time. But he had a mandate from the All-in African Conference to carry out and so he had gone.

He spoke of feeling free "for the first time in my life", in the countries outside South Africa. He said that he had been treated as a normal human being, he had been received by many leaders of African states, such as the Prime Ministers of Tanganyika, Senegal, Algeria, by Julius Nyerere, by Jo Grimmond of the British Liberal Party and by Hugh Gaitskill of the British Labour Party. He said that it had been a wonderful experience to meet these people and to exchange views. And he added that he had to return to report to his committee.

"Government Responsible"

He said that the prosecutor held him responsible for the stay-at-home in May last year. He said that many people had said flattering things about him and his leadership at that time. But, he said, this was not entirely true. "Verwoerd's government" was also highly responsible because it refused to answer the request for a National Convention, where South Africans of all races could have got together peacefully to discuss the problems of the country. He said that in any civilized country, this request would not have gone unanswered and therefore the government must be held responsible. He also maintained that the people responded magnificently to the call last year in spite of attempts by the authorities with its police and arms, to set the scene for violence.

He said that whatever sentence he was given this would not deter him from



A police officer spotted "Contact's" correspondent taking photographs outside the Mandela courthouse, and ran to order that no more pictures be taken.

doing what he knew to be right. He said that no man in his position, "who could call himself a man", would have failed to do what he had done.

During the Magistrate's summing up, Mandela hardly looked at Mr. van Helsdigen, but spent his time smiling at friends who had come far, and waited long to see him. He also looked often at his wife, Winnie Mandela, who would answer with a nod and a smile.

Mrs. Mandela

I spoke to Mrs. Mandela outside the court, after she and members of his family had been allowed to see Nelson Mandela before he was taken away. She said that he was in good spirits. "He is glad, for he knew he had to do it."

Although some people were sad and shocked at the heavy sentence, Mrs. Mandela said that she and her husband had expected five years. She was smiling, calm and urged others to have courage. She shook my arm saying: "Don't worry, the time will pass and we have a lot to do until then!"



Police lined up outside the entrance to the court.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

Govt. Commission Rejected by Rehobothers

From "Contact" Correspondent

WINDHOEK: The recently appointed government commission to enquire into the development of South West Africa, has encountered

Sabata:

(Continued from page 3)

Tembus at Bumbane on 11th August has having quashed Tembu opposition, as erred in the eyes of many Tembus by producing a memorandum containing amendments to the Matanzima constitution instead of its own constitutional proposals, which were to make it clear that full freedom was to be for the whole of South Africa and not just for the Tembus; also by releasing the memorandum to the government and to the public before taking it to the Tembus for their consideration. The press release was apparently unauthorized, certainly it was made without the knowledge of the Chairman, Mr. Lewis Majija. On this issue too the meeting of the Tembu people seems essential, yet if the government allows it they may be faced with even tougher proposals than the non-racial amendments the committee produced. And, if they forbid it a situation could arise which would bring the government's Transkei Bantustan plan to an unexpected early collapse.

its first obstacle. When it visited the Rehoboth Community, the Basterraad (Rehoboth Advisory Council) stated clearly that it would have nothing to do with the commission and its "so-called five year plan".

In order to acquaint the commission with the point of view of the population, the commission was given a copy of the memorandum submitted earlier this year to the United Nations visitors, Dr. De Alva and Mr. Carpio.

"U.N. Supervision"

This memorandum, among other points, asks that the South African administration be removed from South West Africa, and the territory be placed under United Nations supervision pending complete independence.

The Basterraad stated further that if the commission wished to have further information regarding the attitude of the population, they should enquire in writing and would receive a written reply. The Raad would have no verbal discussion with the commission.

Some members of the Raad are concerned that the authorities did not notify them in good time that the commission would visit Rehoboth, telling them only the day before.

It is generally expected that the commission will encounter similar difficulties

during its visits to the southern reserves. The spokesman for Chief Witbooi of the Nama, for example, has said that the commission is not welcome while the South West Africa case is still being heard at the world court.

"Contact" Appeal Dismissed

The Supreme Court in Grahamstown has dismissed the appeal of Mr. Peter Hjul, a director of *Contact*, against his conviction in the Umtata Magistrate's Court for subverting the authority of the state and his fine of R200.

The conviction arose out of the publication in *Contact* (28th December, 1961) of an article entitled "Home Guard Terror". The court found that the article might subvert the authority of Headman Yengwa of Baziya Mission Location, Tembuland.

The Supreme Court ruled that the publication and distribution of a newspaper was a "continuous action", and even if a newspaper which contravened the law in the Transkei were published outside the Transkei, it could be prosecuted.

Mr. Hjul was prosecuted in terms of Proclamation R400 of 1960, the Transkei emergency regulations. His was the first ever case of its kind.

Liberal Party Opens Office in Transkei

From "Contact" Correspondent

UMTATA: The Liberal Party opened its first Transkei office on 9th November in Rayflo Buildings, York Road, Umtata. The office will be used largely as a meeting place for members, officials and organizers residing in or visiting the Transkei.

Opening the office, Messrs. R. Vigne and H. Majija, who came from Cape Town to Umtata to make the arrangements, told many enquirers that the offices would be at the disposal of other sympathetic groups. The meetings of other opposition groups need not necessarily be held under Liberal Party auspices (meetings must not number more than nine persons without a magistrate's permission in terms of Proclamation 400 of 1960).

Liberals and others have felt the acute need for a non-racial meeting place in the Transkeian capital and the opening of the office has been widely welcomed.

The office will be open all week during visits of Liberal organizers, but for restricted periods at other times. Mr. Vigne said that the opening of the Liberal Party office was evidence of the Party's growing interest in the Transkei, which was reciprocated by a steady increase in membership.

Angola Conflict Spreads South

CONTRARY to popular belief the Angolan insurrection is no longer confined to the north of the country. *Jeune Afrique* (Tunis, 11th November) reports that in Southern Angola thousands of Africans, helped by White opponents of Portuguese colonialism, have risen in revolt.

Their struggle is made particularly difficult by the geographic situation of the territory where it is being carried on, near the boundaries of Rhodesia and South West Africa from where help can be sent to the Portuguese by the Verwoerd or Welensky governments.

The principal leaders of the southern Angolan nationalists (whose names cannot be revealed for reasons of security) call their movement the Front for the Unity of Angola (F.U.A.), and in an exclusive interview with *Jeune Afrique* discussed their policies.

● *Jeune Afrique*: WHERE IS YOUR MOVEMENT BASED?

F.U.A.: The F.U.A. was born out of a fusion between various political organizations in central and southern Angola, but police repression, especially since the nationalist attacks on the Luanda prisons in 1959, has made it impossible up to now to achieve full unity of all liberation movements in Angola. Our movement has been harassed continually by the police, but has always managed to survive in spite of the arrest, deportation and killing of a large number of our members. We have never stopped fighting, and have always managed to revive when we seemed defeated.

● WHAT IS YOUR POLITICAL PROGRAMME?

The main aim of our political programme is to finish Portuguese colonialism completely, and on firm foundations to build a new Angolan society. We want to unite the country economically and politically, because we know that any ethnic or regional discrimination in Angola will make it easier for

the colonialists to return or stay in power.

We believe in a new status of citizenship for all Angolans, no matter what their race, colour or tribe. This new citizenship is essential in the creation of a national feeling, which is itself indispensable for a new nation emerging from five centuries of foreign domination.

Economic Problems

We will pay particular attention to economic problems, because we believe that a nation's political independence is meaningless without economic freedom. We will establish heavy industry to exploit our mineral resources, we will encourage secondary industry, agriculture and the liberalization of trade. We will hope to get help from abroad for these things.

We believe particularly in agrarian reform, to finish the colonialist system of one crop farming, to diversify agriculture and to introduce a co-operative system of agriculture. In this system no individual or co-operative would be able to own land unless the land was used productively. Land would be redistributed among dispossessed peasants.

● WHAT IS YOUR POSITION REGARDING THE M.P.L.A. AND THE U.P.A.?

We want to fight beside the two northern movements, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola and the Union of the Peoples of Angola. We would like to form with them, and the other groups associated with them, a National Liberation Front in which each group's political views would be respected.

With this in mind we have written to the leaders of the U.P.A., the M.P.L.A. and other movements, proposing a meeting as soon as possible at a place to be decided later. We feel that the creation of a National Front is indispensable to the success of our campaign.

JAGAN TAKES GUIANA INTO FREEDOM

BRITISH Guiana lies on the north coast of South America; it is a colony with an economy based on sugar and bauxite; it is poor, and its people are divided; it is also due for independence and the man who is taking it there is Dr. Cheddi Jagan, the present Prime Minister and leader of the People's Progressive Party. At home he is opposed by the United Force, a conservative Party led by Mr. Peter d'Aiguier, and the People's National Congress, led by Mr. Forbes Burnham.

The population of British Guiana is made up principally of immigrants: traders and planters from Europe; plantation workers from Asia (principally India) and the descendants of slaves from Africa, the latter the great majority. Of the two major Parties, Dr. Jagan's is predominantly Asian, Forbes Burnham's predominantly African. An independent Guiana will have to solve many of the problems which face countries such as Kenya, Rhodesia and South Africa.

There was a time when British Guiana seemed to be giving birth to a totally insoluble problem because of the leanings towards communism of its Chief Minister, Dr. Cheddi Jagan. Soon

after he had been elected in 1954 the constitution had to be suspended because of allegations that he was preparing a communist take-over in the colony. At that time regular British troops were sent in to keep order. But the fact remained that the people of British Guiana wanted Dr. Jagan and his People's Progressive Party to lead them.

In the eight years that have followed Dr. Jagan has become less dramatic. When his country received internal self-government in 1961 he became the first Prime Minister. But he was elected on a minority vote and the people were divided on racial as well as political lines. This very soon gave rise to racial riots and British troops again had to be called in — this time at the request of Dr. Jagan.

This is the background to the constitutional conference which has opened in London and which should, if all goes well, lead straight to independence. But animosities have to be checked before this can happen.

It is up to Dr. Cheddi Jagan to give the guarantees to his opponents for though he rules on a minority vote he is the only man who has a chance to



★ Rebel areas

● UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS ARE YOU CARRYING ON YOUR CAMPAIGN?

Merciless police repression, the size of the country, the particular geographic and human differences of each region, has made it impossible for the liberation struggle to have developed in the same way throughout the country. We believe implicitly in armed struggle, but it must be borne in mind that our movement's zone of influence is situated essentially in the central and south of Angola — a region which not only suffers from tribal differences, but is under the influence of foreign political factors.

"South African Menace"

Our people are menaced by the South African army and no one nowadays ignores the secret military pact between Verwoerd, Welensky and Salazar.

Since last September South African technicians have been building hundreds of miles of road in south west Angola. It is an area of no economic importance, and the only reason for the roads must be their strategic use.

NOTE: Other rebel attacks recently include ambushes in the Luanda area (reported in *Courriere d'Afrique*) and sabotage attempts against the Benguela railway which runs from Katanga to Lobito (reported in *Central African Mail*). The group responsible for operation around the railway comprises Africans and Whites (including deserters from the Portuguese army) and is possibly part of the F.U.A.—EDITOR.



Dr. JAGAN (left) with the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. DUNCAN SANDYS, at the British Guiana independence talks.

lead the people to freedom. If he remains intransigent on local matters he has no hope of converting his following into a majority by breaking down the strong racial and political barriers. If he plays his cards well there seems no reason why he should not be a successful national leader. If on the other hand his retreat from communism — increasingly evident in the last few years — is not sincere or is based solely on his need for American aid, the people of British Guiana will not take long to show they have no use for him.

BOOKS

Who are the Africans?

WHO are the Africans? Taking the perspectives of history into account the writers of a new, concise and economically presented story of Africa* show the extent to which Africa has been the scene of great migrations and incursions of people from its earliest days. Beginning at the beginning, and not with the "discovery" of Africa by colonial explorers, this history of the continent from the time of the first men to inhabit it many thousand years ago, to the All African People's Conference, Pan Africanism and apartheid, is presented in a manner as revolutionary as the emancipation of Africa itself. This is one of the first of the thousands of books that have to be written about Africa now that the colonial occupation is over (for most of the continent anyway) and the perspectives of historians cease to be those which saw Africa, its colonization and history as part of the empire building process of lands to the north.

Moving from the earliest days of stone age Africa, through the growth and expansion of the indigenous kingdoms and empires, which in the thousand year period before European conquest existed in the western bulge of the continent and as far south as the realm of Monomotapa in what is today called Southern Rhodesia (there is an interesting discussion of the relation between these kingdoms and the early civilization of Egypt), to the days of the slave trade and the eventual occupation of Africa by technologically-superior European powers, and finally the liberation of the continent from that occupation, the writers have given us a history which sees Africa as a whole, which assesses its great achievements and discusses in a balanced way the problems which face it today.

Africa, seen by historians in the colonial tradition, was presented as a continent whose history was of no account before its conquest and occupation. This book, while not denying the benefits (or evils) of colonialism, sees that period as one of many in the history of the continent. The occupation of north-east Africa, for example, by Hamitic people (with pale skins), from the Arabian peninsula many thousands of years ago, and the eventual absorption of these invaders into Africa (both Haile Selassie and Tom Mboya are of Hamitic stock) has a possibly unconscious parallel with the occupation of southern Africa by foreigners who must likewise eventually be absorbed into the continent.

Apartheid is seen as an anachronism which must fail in the face of a continent-wide emancipation, those who invented it and vote for it are seen as "(differing) from other Africans mainly in their individualism and in the seventeenth-century Calvinist beliefs and outlook which reinforced the conviction, born of the circumstances in which they found themselves, that they were an elect of God and that the heathen coloured folk had no natural rights against them or to the land they were taking for their own."

*A Short History of Africa, Roland Oliver and J. D. Fage (Penguin African Library).

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CONTACT?
See page 2 for
rates

READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS . . .

Only One Kind of Liberalism

SIR.—The Liberal Party has suddenly found itself in the unusual position where Nationalist opponents of all shades of political opinion are clambering on to its liberal bandwagon; and Vorster's threats against Liberals and his attempts to link liberalism with communism have backfired. Rather than provoking as much panic as he had obviously hoped, Vorster has caused many South Africans to leave the political fence and come down on the side of liberalism.

However, an unhappy feature of the many claims to liberalism by politicians, churchmen, newspapers, etc., has been the attempt to disassociate their liberalism from that of the Liberal Party. Many such people merely make it plain that their liberalism has a small "l" but some, notably Marais Steyn of the United Party, have resorted to a bit of mud-slinging of their own. Mr. Steyn has said that "the splendid system of thought which is known in political philosophy of liberalism" should not be confused with a particular political party which *usurps* the word liberal in its name", thus implying that the Liberal Party is not liberal, and, incidentally, proving his ignorance.

In view of this trend your readers may be interested to know the following: Liberal is defined in the Oxford dictionary in its political sense as "advocating democratic reforms", while democratic is defined as: "the principle that all citizens have equal political rights". Therefore the only Party in South Africa whose policies are in accord with liberalism, is the Liberal Party!

So, while applauding all who now claim to be liberals—I would wish them to be clear that a true liberal:

- cannot subscribe to any voting system other than universal adult franchise;
- cannot condone any form of discrimination whatsoever;
- must reject apartheid and all it stands for;
- above all must advocate democratic reforms.

It would be difficult, then, for a liberal to be passive in South Africa today.

ADELAINE HAIN,
Pretoria.

APPEAL

SIR.—Nyasaland has recently suffered a grievous loss in the death of two of its outstanding men—Du Chisiza and Lawrence Makata, both killed in road accidents.

Above all, perhaps, the example of their own lives has set a standard of service to the community that cannot be allowed to be forgotten and it is now proposed to appeal for funds to set up a Memorial Trust to be used in those fields of endeavour that were so close to the hearts of these men, namely:—

- To provide financial assistance to their widows and secure a full education for their children;
- To set up a scholarship fund to assist students in further study, particularly in the fields of economics, social and political science;
- To assist in the establishment of community development projects.

Donations should be sent to:—

The Treasurer,
Appeals Committee,
Chisiza/Makata Memorial
Trust,
P.O. Box 699,
Limbe, Nyasaland.

(Signed) Phillip Howard (Chairman,
Appeal Committee).

TO ALL READERS OF "CONTACT"

- This is your page, for your letters, for your opinions
- We like short letters on any topic
- A prize — "Contact" free for a year — is given for the best letter of the fortnight.

A Cursed World

SIR.—Allow me to say a word to my brother and sister Africans. We are living in a cursed world—cursed in every respect for us, its dark-skinned citizens, in a world where we have been degraded just because of our colour.

We are not considered as human beings in our country. It is true that it is up to each one of us to show our oppressors what we really feel about it: to show them that we are human beings with feelings. It is infuriating to think of the rights that we have been robbed of.

Young Africans, don't panic! Fight for the freedom of your motherland Africa fight for your rights: it is high time our oppressors realized that Africa wants and is going to get its freedom.

Let's all do something towards this important task. Phambili maAfrica namaAfrikazi! No apartheid in our country!

ITALIA,
Pondoland.

Bibles and Land

SIR.—In *Contact* (18th October) Mr. Deke Miza states *inter alia*: "The missionaries preached the word of God while the merchants trade dishonestly. . . . To-day we have their Bible and they our land".

I am not so much disappointed with the correspondent's illogical arguments as I am with your paper which fills valuable space with such arguments.

There is not a single African who does not believe in God, as Mr. Sékou Touré, President of Guinea, testified in the same issue of *Contact*. The concept of God is not an imported European ideology. It was there before the Bible and Christianity. The Bible is but the written word or form of that concept. Bibles of all religions testify to the universality and oneness of this word, which guides all souls to their destiny, and leads men and women who are frustrated with economics, social and political questions, to peace of mind and satisfaction of soul.

Which then is the more valuable, possession of land or possession of the knowledge of God and His plan and His purpose with man?

Your correspondent's quotation from Abraham Lincoln shows how much he knows about Lincoln. Character, honesty of purpose, and moral integrity and trust in God were beacons which guided Lincoln in his fight for the underdog. He did not destroy the southerners for he knew they were ignorant. He prayed to God to open their eyes to see and to understand the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man, which is one of the cardinal principles of the teachings of all religions.

Man's oppressor is no one but his ignorance—ignorance of God and His purpose. It is the liberation of the soul that will make man free from physical oppression. For only in this state can man recognize and appreciate the necessary process through which he must pass to reach that perfect freedom—peace of mind and satisfaction of soul.

M. A. HOAEANE,
Private Bag 1044, Rustenburg.

Vorster Act in Basutoland?

SIR.—We would take it as an order of the day if a horrible thing like the Vorster Act was enacted by the British government in Basutoland. But it has shocked us to the marrow to find that the chiefs themselves, Basoto in all respects, have taken over this British conduct.

When it was rumoured that the Paramount Chief had called all chiefs to warn them against Ntsu Mokhehle in mid-year and to explain to them how they should restrict the movements of the Basutoland Congress Party in their areas, it did not sound true.

On 9th October, Chieftainess Mamathe launched this Vorster law at a pitso of chiefs and headmen by saying "A political party shall live only when it knows that it is under me. Any Party that wants to hold a meeting must send its application to me. I am the only one to give it permission. Any headman who allows a Party to hold a meeting in his area shall find himself in trouble. This order comes from the Paramount Chief and we must implement it."

By this it is intended to forbid some Parties to hold meetings or to slow down their activities: even to create excuses to ban them from some areas.

But the 1959 Paramount Chief's circular (by Paramount Chieftainess Mantsebo Seeiso) states that headmen can allow meetings without consulting principal chiefs, and that circular has not been cancelled. We know the circular well, and we wait to see how far these frightened chiefs are going to disregard it.

It is they who must show a good example by keeping law, order and peace, otherwise we the ordinary people will have reason to behave unbecomingly.

TEBOHO MUSA,
Teyateyaneng.

Qualified Vote "Essential"

SIR.—Sons and daughters of Africa, of Asia and of Europe—let us say South Africans—our struggle for our country has been hard, so please do not ruin it now. White nationalism has not worked, and so how can Black nationalism work? I am sure we all agree a multi-racial country is needed.

Youth Must Act

SIR.—It is high time for us, the youth, to act and join our parents, our older brothers and sisters, in the struggle to push off the yoke placed on our shoulders by the South African government, to get rid of White domination in our country. We must stand together to abolish the inhuman system based on race segregation and to prevent the partition of our country under Verwoerd's Bantustan scheme. We believe in an undivided South West Africa.

We have no time for the South African government: we want self-determination now, based on one man one vote.

We lack education. The inferior Bantu Education, imposed by the South African government, is backward and hopeless. This education separates us by building tribal schools. The government is doing this in order to create hatred among the Africans.

We don't want anything concerned with apartheid.

H. V. KALUENJA,
M. M. SHIVUTE,
J. M. KAULINGE,
SWAPO Office, Dar es Salaam,
Tanganyika.

PRIZE LETTER

POINT OF WINNING

SIR.—I want to draw to your attention this important thing. When we are persecuted like this we are at the point of winning. I want to remind you of this. I also want to mention a few of the persecutions in Africa:

- The killing of Africans in Windhoek, 11th December, 1959.
- The murder of Lumumba.
- The arrest and escort of Mr. Herman ja Toivo from Cape Town to Ovamboland.
- The arrest of Mr. L. Pohamba and Mr. A. E. Muatale and their trial.
- The banning of the Zimbabwe African People's Union and the restriction of its President, Mr. Nkomo.
- The arrest of Mr. Nelson Mandela, his trial and the ban on his Party.
- The turning of Mrs. Helen Joseph's home into a jail.
- The daily oppression of anti-apartheid Africans in South Africa and South West Africa by the South African police.
- The Vorster "Sabotage" laws.
- The daily practical slavery under which the indigenous people are being ill-treated.

Let us fight for our Africa. We will now win. Above all, let us unite and defeat colonists, racialists, imperialists in Africa.

Let our Africa come back to us for it is ours.

M. G. HISHONO,
Tsumeb.

There are two Parties which work for this, the Liberal Party and the Progressive Party. The former is based on a good theory but is it practical? Just a look at the rest of Africa should answer the question. In Ghana it was tried; it has failed and I do not think anyone can say that Ghana is a democratic, civilized country. This is one of many examples. To give every African in South Africa a vote would lead to chaos. A qualified vote is essential, an essentiality that will save South Africa.

I as a youth appeal to all young South Africans to fight the wrongs our forebears have led us into and make South Africa a civilized country by supporting or joining the Progressive Party Youth. Yes, African and Asian youths, we are waiting for you to help us fight racialism.

I. B. C. STREEK,
22 Turnberry Avenue,
Bunker's Hill, East London.



[The writers of this letter (left to right in the picture), Messrs. Kaluenja, Shivute and Kaulinge, now live in Dar es Salaam, having left South West Africa this year. Mr. Kaluenja was a final year student at the Augustineum College, Okahanja, and was expelled for his political activities; Mr. Shivute, formerly a pupil at the Dobra mission school, has strong feelings against Bantu Education; Mr. Kaulinge, a Junior Certificate pupil at the Augustineum, was suspended for political activities.—EDITOR.]

Basutoland

LEGCO SESSION OPENS, PARTIES CONFER

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: What promises to be the most interesting session ever of the Legislative Council opens on 21st November after a recess of seven months.

Among other matters, the Legco will discuss the Labour Bill, which is designed to bring about uniformity of working conditions among Africans in Basutoland. A labour delegation led by Mr. M. Lepolesa to investigate and negotiate with South African authorities about the working conditions for Basuto mine workers, will also table its report. (See *Contact*, 1st November.)

The possibility of establishing a broadcasting service for Basutoland will also be discussed, and this among other matters involves consideration of the relationship between Basutoland and South Africa.

Party Conferences

In the meantime, Basutoland's political parties and trade union groups are preparing for their annual conferences. From 20th to 22nd December the amalgamated Marema Tlou-Freedom Party will hold its inaugural congress and choose a leader and executive. The new Party's constitution will be approved.

From 23rd to 26th December the B.C.P. will hold its annual conference. It is expected that this will be the 10-year-old Party's largest conference, and possibly the last before Basutoland goes to the polls in late 1963 or early 1964.

The Federation of Labour, the strongest and largest trade union body in Basutoland, will hold its first annual congress on 29th and 30th December.

The communist-inspired Mōhale's Hoek based Basutoland Congress of Trade Unions held its conference on 3rd November. No great success, it was attended by about twenty-five people. The Marema Tlou-Freedom Party sent a representative to this conference. Mr.

A. Matia. The Chairman of the conference announced that the B.C.T.U. had affiliated to the South African Congress of Trade Unions.

It is understood that the young baby of Basutoland politics, the Communist Party, which has been calling from corners for a United Front in the country (see *Contact*, 1st November) will hold its annual congress, in secret as usual, early in January, 1963.

B.P. Deportation Order Withdrawn

From "Contact" Correspondent

FRANCISTOWN: As a result of appeals by the Bechuanaland People's Party to the authorities, a deportation order against a man guilty of a political offence has been reversed.

Mr. Joseph Nyati, who has lived in Bechuanaland since 1953 and is married to a Motswana woman, is one of several issued with deportation orders following convictions for political offences. Most of the people were born in the Rhodesias or Nyasaland.

The B.P.P. appealed to the Francistown District Commissioner, Mr. P. L. Steenkamp, pointing out that no man should be persecuted for political reasons.



NYATI

As a result of the B.P.P. appeal, Mr. Nyati has been granted a 12-month residence permit, and it is presumed that he may apply for permanent residence at the end of that period.

BECHUANALAND POLITICS AND TRIBALISM

From R. MOTHAPU

FRANCISTOWN: Vital talks for the future of Bechuanaland will begin here on 28th December when the Bechuanaland People's Party holds a three-day annual national conference. The talks are being held on the eve of a new year in which the territory will enter its second phase of constitutional development.

The conference is expected to launch a unique campaign for the eradication of tribalism, which is probably the biggest single threat against national unity. For this the delegates will discuss ways and means in an all out effort to further the political education of the people.

The threat of a politico-tribal polarization first reared its head early in the year with the coming into being of the Bamangwato-based Bechuanaland Democratic Party, led by Mr. Seretse Khama.

A new cause for anxiety is the coming into being of the Bechuanaland Liberal Party, which has announced its intention to ask the head of Bechuanaland's most senior tribe second to the Bakwena, to assume its leadership. Its choice is Paramount Chief Bathoen II of the Bangwaketse.

For months after its formation the B.P.P. was unable to hold public meetings in the Bamangwato Reserve, its leaders being regarded as "corrupters of the youth".

The hostility of the Bamangwato tribesmen to the B.P.P. men was not due

to their advocacy of any particular political ideology, but simply because they were politicians and not born into the tribal hierarchy.

The politicians were suspected of plotting to usurp the powers of the chiefs. At a kgotla gathering some tribesmen even went to the extent of inciting violence against the leaders.

Mr. Motsamai Mpho, then Secretary-General of the B.P.P., was referred to contemptuously as a *Motswana*, signifying that he belonged to a "despised" tribe and therefore unfit to lead the Bamangwato. Mr. P. G. Matante, the Party's Vice-President, was simply dismissed as a commoner.

Feeling ran so high at the kgotla that Mr. Lenyeletse Seretse, the Bamangwato Assistant Tribal Secretary, intervened by telling the tribesmen that it was for them to form their own political party to oppose the B.P.P. But this gave no more than cold comfort to the B.P.P. men, for the tribesmen could not but conclude that they were being asked to form a Bamangwato Party.

Mr. Seretse did, however, use political arguments in support of his suggestion, pointing out that constitutional development (there was already a Legislative Council) had to be accompanied by the formation of political parties. Shortly after this the B.D.P. was formed. Its leader, Seretse Khama, is Bamangwato Tribal Secretary.

It would be tragic if those who are just beginning to cast off the slough of

racialism were to find in tribalism another weapon against progressive leadership. The move by the multi-racial Liberal Party, which advocates a qualified franchise, to ask a chief to lead the Party is another pointer in an ominous trend.

All this must have been foreseen by the late Bamangwato Regent, Tshekedi Khama, who is quoted by Mary Benson in her biography of him, as saying:

"The love, honour and reverence the chief receives is due not to his personality, but to his office . . . (The chief) must constantly guard himself against the exploitation of the faith which the people have in him. He must not regard this as a sign of political superiority above them."

The coming conference will take stock of progress made in the past two years in the political development of the territory and towards national unity. The criteria should be how far tribalism and political inertia due to ignorance have been overcome.

An assessment of the strength of the B.P.P., as the biggest and only truly non-tribal political party here, should be a fair guide for readers.

The Bamangwato Reserve comprises one-third of the territory's entire African population of 350,000. It is in this Reserve that the B.P.P. has made the least impact. It is also here that the Party suffered most from the recent internal squabbles which convulsed it in its barely two years of existence.

S. B. in Swaziland

PROTEST AND DENIAL

From "Contact" Correspondent

MBABANE: The leader of the Swaziland Progressive Party Youth League, Mr. Nimrod Dlamini, has protested about South African S.B. activity in Swaziland. He declares in a statement to *Contact*:

"We are fed up with the South African Special Branch who come to take notes at our meetings." He said that some of them disguise themselves as freedom fighters in order to fish for information. "We are also aware that the Swaziland government's Special Branch work hand in hand with the South African Security Branch."

Government Denial

In a statement to *Contact* the Swaziland authorities deny reports in *Contact* (1st November) that South African Security policemen attended and took notes at recent Swaziland political meetings. Mr. B. D. F. Briggs writes from The Secretariat Mbabane: *Thank you for your letter of 31st October drawing my attention to reports from your Mbabane correspondent published on page eight of the issue of "Contact" of 1st November.*

The Special Branch of the South African Police do not attend political meetings in Swaziland and no member of the Special Branch took notes at the meetings mentioned in your articles.

The most stable branch in the area, Palapye, was lost to the Party together with the former Secretary-General, Mr. Motsamai Mpho, who was expelled. Two other men from the same branch were also expelled.

Up to the time of the troubles the Party operated within three regions: the Northern, Central and Southern divisions; but since then there has been a redelimitation in which the Central division disappeared, with portions of it absorbed into the Northern and Southern divisions.

The biggest and best-organized branch has been and remains the Northern Division, stretching now from Mahalapye in the centre to Vakaranga on the Rhodesian border in the north. There are 21 branches in this region with headquarters at Francistown. Evidence of their active state was given when twelve of the branches were represented at a recent rally in the far south at Lobatsi.

Vast areas in this sprawling, sparsely populated country, almost three times the size of Great Britain, remain to be tackled and shaped into political preparedness in time for the imminent second step in constitutional advance.



Published by the Proprietor, Selemela Publications (Pty.) Ltd., 47 Parliament Street, Cape Town. Printed by Linsey & Watson (Pty.) Ltd., 364 Voortrekker Road, Maitland, Cape Town.